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the anxious hours and the hard labor I have put into this endeavor to help heal the wounds of war through the blessed "ministry of reconciliation." As our wonderful Herbert Hoover has said, "We make peace in the hearts of people and not in documents." We are still technically at war with Germany, but, as one teacher wrote me, "There is no hatred of any kind throughout Germany toward America." He said, "Of all the countries, America was the only one to come to our aid in our hour of sore need, and we shall never forget it." A little band of Quakers, helped by many generous Americans not Quakers, have bridged the gulf and proved that the Master was right, and that it is through love that we conquer.

Last spring a lecture trip was arranged for Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead. She spoke most acceptably in the following places: Colby Academy, Proctor Academy, Tilton Seminary, State Normal School, Plymouth, and Pinkerton Academy. Another trip is contemplated this spring.

AUSTRIAN PEACE SOCIETY

At the meeting of December 10, 1920, the board of directors of the Austrian Peace Society unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Austrian Peace Society, founded more than 29 years ago by Bertha von Suttner with the mission of propagating and demanding the alliance of all nations for the purpose of avoiding war, and always since that time endeavoring to prepare the minds of the contemporaries to adopt those ideas which are forming the basis of the League of Nations founded in Versailles, hails the first session of the League of Nations as an important step on the road to international organization and peace community of the nations.

It congratulates those men who, in Geneva, fought for the new ideas of a determined peace policy against the apparent attempts of a diplomacy of the old school to proceed in the worn-out, old roads that have proved themselves pernicious.

It regrets that the first session of the League of Nations did not decide—

- (a) To revise and to improve the Versailles Treaty along the lines of the Scandinavian, Dutch, Swiss, and Argentinian motions;
- (b) To make the permanent Court of Nations, which is to be created, at least partly obligatory;
- (c) To start general and gradual disarmament;
- (d) To adopt definite plans of making the manufacture of arms a government property (a monopoly);
- (e) To bring the problem of internationalization and world distribution of the most indispensable raw materials nearer to solution;
- (f) To make the right of self-determination of the nations a part of the treaty; and
- (g) By a magnanimous declaration to grant immediate admission to all sovereign peoples.

It hopes that that which has not yet been obtained will soon be carried through successfully, and therefore it asks all groups, parties, associations, and societies, as well as individuals, interested in the advancement of the progress and the final realization of a peace based upon justice and reciprocity to bring to bear upon their governments and upon the entire public opinion that influence which can be conducive to the attainment of the august purposes of the League of Nations.

UNITED STATES, COSTA RICA, PANAMA

On March 5 the Department of State of the United States sent identical notes to Costa Rica and to Panama, reading thus:

The Department of State has today been informed that Costa Rican troops have invaded the territory adjudged by the White award to be that of Panama, and that they are now advancing on Almirante and Boca del Toro. This information, which appears to be confirmed, has caused the Government of the United States the gravest concern. This government desires to urge upon the Government of Costa Rica, in the most earnest manner, immediate compliance with its recommendation that instructions be given to its forces between the *status quo* line and the Cerro Pando-Punta Burica line to advance no further, and that immediate instructions be issued to those troops which have advanced into Guabite and which are now approaching Almirante and Boca del Toro to withdraw at once to the northern bank of the Sixaola River.

This government recognizes the fact that the controversy with respect to the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama has been finally determined by the award of Chief Justice White as arbitrator, and desires to urge upon the Government of Costa Rica the importance of immediate cessation of hostilities, to the end that appropriate settlement be promptly made in an orderly manner in accordance with Chief Justice White's decision. This government cannot regard forcible measures by either party as justifiable. Representations of a similar nature are being made to the Government of Panama.

On the evening of the 7th the reply of Costa Rica was made public in Washington. It read:

I have the honor to inform you that I have received telegraphic instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica to advise you that the Government of Costa Rica has given orders that the Costa Rican forces which had crossed the line of the Sixaola River be immediately withdrawn to that line, and that the forces on the Pacific side make no further advance whatever.

I hope that the action taken by my government with the desire of satisfying the wishes expressed by the Government of the United States will be interpreted as a proof of its conciliatory intentions and of the consideration deserved by the friendly attitude of the Department of State, as well as of the firm conviction of my government that the Anderson-Porras Treaty and the award of Chief Justice White will be respected and carried out in their entirety.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration and esteem, with which I subscribe myself,

Your very faithful servant,

OCTAVIO BEECHE.

On the 11th the text of Panama's reply was made public by the State Department. Examination of it will reveal that it does not harmonize in spirit or intention with the communication from Costa Rica; and, taken into consideration with the fact that Panama simultaneously laid her case before the League of Nations's officials at Geneva, it indicates that interesting developments may follow forcing upon the Administration at an early date a declaration of attitude toward the League. The text of the communication from Panama follows:

My government authorizes me to state to Your Excellency that it has given instructions already to our military forces that they retire from Coto; but that our civil and police authorities will remain there as before Costa Rican aggression of the 21st of last month; and that this act of Panama, inspired in the desire of putting an end to the armed conflict

which has been imposed upon it against its will, should not be interpreted in any case as an implied recognition of the White award, which the executive power, the Legislative Assembly, and the public opinion of Panama have jointly refused to accept since 1914, the year in which it was rendered.

I do not wish to close, Mr. Minister, without having Your Excellency to take note that the Republic of Panama was enjoying the benefits of internal and external peace, applying itself to work, to the cultivation of the arts and the sciences, and in friendly relations with all the peoples of the earth when suddenly, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, fell the unexpected and unjustified attack upon it by the Government of Costa Rica.

Whatever may be the result of the mediation interposed by the Government of the United States in the armed conflict which to our grief Costa Rica has imposed upon us, Panama reserves the right of establishing and of making effective in the course of the mediation the responsibilities which Costa Rica has incurred by reason of its unqualifiable attack and of demanding the obligation of indemnifying us for the damages caused and for the expenditures of the defensive expedition which by its fault we have seen the necessity of equipping and organizing.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

ON JANUARY 11 THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT officials announced a virtual state of bankruptcy of the nation and their refusal to be responsible after January 15 for any affairs of state. On that date they said they would put the government in the hands of the Reparations Commission of the Allies. The immediate and specific cause of this unprecedented action was a demand for higher pay by government employees; but the real reason was the collapse of credit within and without the State and the logical consequences of the mutilation of the economic body of the former empire by the makers of the Treaty of Paris. The official Austrian view of the situation created by the Allies is thus stated:

The Treaty of St. Germain required Austria to live upon her own restricted means. Her statesmen informed the Allies this was impossible, but the Allies said she must do so just the same. She has tried and failed, because not only her territory but her credit was withdrawn from her. The treaty forbids us to unite with Germany, and circumstances prevent us from saving ourselves in any other way. We now are at the end of our resources.

Sir William Goode, British member of the Austrian section of the Reparations Commission, commenting January 14 on the situation, said:

I do not wish to appear to be an alarmist, but if the Allies can hold out no prospect of means for continued existence, then I fear we must be prepared for an outbreak that would be beyond the control of any authority that might be left to Austria. It is common knowledge that the Bolsheviks have made elaborate preparations to utilize Vienna as a center of activity and propaganda. They expect their campaign in this part of the world will synchronize with the disappearance of the central government of Austria and spread thence to every country of Europe.

I am convinced that provision of part of the £60,000,000 recommended by the Austrian section of the Reparations Commission can safely be regarded as economic insurance, as compared with the expenditure in which the British Gov-

ernment might be involved in the event of the collapse of Austria. There probably never was a moment in the histories of the French and British governments when it was more difficult to find money. The issue, however, is not merely, "Can we afford the money?" but also, "Can we afford to face the alternative?"

The action hinted at above has not taken place. The Government at Vienna is still functioning in its own impecunious way. American relief funds are saving the masses of the people from extinction. Temporarily the attention of British, French, and Italian statesmen has been diverted from Austria's plight to that of German reparation settlements and to the more critical situation in the Near East growing out of the attempt to revise the Treaty of Sèvres.

PLANS FOR HOLDING A SESSION OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS in Paris next September are taking form. The president is Blaise Diagne, a deputy in the French lower chamber from Senegal, and the secretary is W. E. B. Du Bois, of New York, editor of the *Crisis*. Concerning the first session of this congress in Paris, while the Peace Conference was in session, Mr. Du Bois wrote in the issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of January, 1919. The attendance then was limited compared with what it will be next autumn. Passports were withheld from delegates who had been appointed, and only the intervention of M. Clemenceau thwarted the effort of the British and American governments to sidetrack the movement. This year the congress will have before it the record of success of similar bodies held in Africa itself, such as the National Congress of British West Africa, held in March, 1920; the crystallization of racial ideals and Negro demands in South Africa and the West Indies; and the "Garvey" movement in the United States, led by former West Indians, who are now pouring into the seaboard cities of the United States, especially New York City. Mr. Du Bois, in outlining the program for the coming Paris congress, dwells on the intention of the Negroes to stress their political rights, their economic freedom (especially as landholders), their resentment of caste distinctions and of peonage, and their demand for educational privileges. The wiser British statesmen realize that at last they must face and meet a racial problem similar to that which the United States has known for generations. This is shown by the broad-gauge utterances of General Smuts during his recent campaign against secession of South Africa from British control, and by Lord Milner in his wise handling of the Egyptian revolutionists demanding home rule. Unquestioned "white supremacy" in Africa is being challenged. Native emphasis on democratic rights is looming up to grapple with imperialism based on commercial ambition. A prolific, physically powerful and mentally stimulated black race, stirred by the revolutionary ideas of an epoch which is fermenting new ambitions among the whites and yellows of the world's population, is now bestirring itself.

JAPAN'S HEIR-APPARENT TO THE THRONE, Prince Hirohito, left Yokohama March 3 for a tour of Europe. He is the first of the royal line to leave the kingdom in